

LBJ's Vietnam Timetable

An unreliable but hitherto amusing source has leaked to the FORUM the following Vietnam timetable, which President Johnson will follow during the coming election year:

Following the September elections in Saigon, there are charges from spoilsports in the press and Congress that the elections were ludicrous and corrupt. President Johnson defers an answer to these scurrilous attacks until a more opportune moment.

In December the White House thumbs its nose at the critics. The new government in Saigon is "taking root," it announces. "Reports of defections to the Vietcong by members of the Constituent Assembly have been grossly exaggerated."

SUNNY SAM In March Dean Rusk says, "we have turned yet another corner in Vietnam," in a special ceremony in which he tenders his resignation. His replacement: Sunny Sam Smyles, 32 year-old disk jockey from station KTBC, Austin, Texas. Sunny Sam's youth is justified by White House aides as an attempt "to bridge the generation gap."

In May Secretary Smyles calls a special press conference: "We are now winning in South Vietnam." He announces that the war is going so well that 5000 troops can be withdrawn in time for the Democratic nominating convention.

Immediately following the nominating convention the President makes almost weekly reports to the American people on Vietnam. "We are in our final push!" he proclaims on September 3, 1968 and withdraws an additional 5000 troops.

"Victory is almost ours!" he rejoices on September 15 and transfers 15,000 Green Berets to Highway Beautification programs in the Mekong Delta as proof of his confidence.

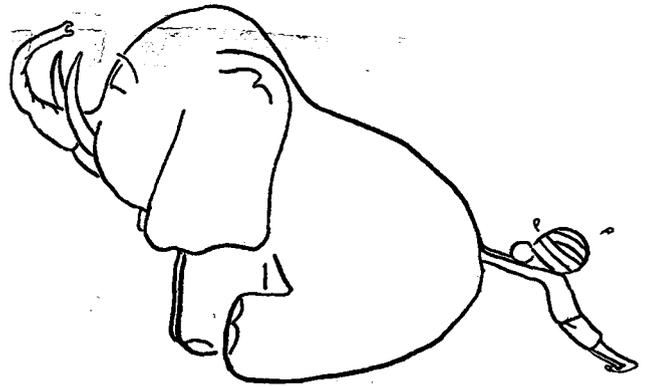
"Democracy has won in South Vietnam," he announces on October 1, while pinning a Freedom Medal on President Ky (President Thieu having been assassinated).

"My fellow Americans," he reports on October 9, "I have just learned from General Abrams (General Westmoreland having been kidnapped) that the American troop commitment in South Vietnam can now be substantially reduced. The boys will soon be home."

ANOTHER COMMISSION "Dearly beloved," he says to the American people on October 7, "I have today created a special Presidential Commission on Repatriation, Integration and Occupational Training of Soldiers." H. Rap Brown and Cyrus Vance are named co-chairmen.

By Hallowe'en the President is euphoric. He dismisses the blowing up of the American Embassy in Saigon as a "trick-or-treat prank." It was just a bunch of kids," he tells reporters.

On election eve, November 4, television viewers are interrupted during prime evening time to hear the following urgent message from the President: "We have won! Won! Won! Vietnam is free! I have just received confirmation of the news in this victory telegram from President Ky in Monte Carlo!" He waves the dispatch triumphantly.



The next night President Johnson is reelected by a large margin. He tells reporters: "My victory is confirmation of the faith of the American people in my policies in Vietnam. It is a mandate to finish the work we have begun."

POST-ELECTION Thanksgiving Day the President addresses the American people in a fireside chat: "We have much to be thankful for. Our bounteous land has been able to secure victory, freedom and democracy for the people of South Vietnam. To consolidate these gains and perform the final mopping up operations I have asked Secretary of Defense Patrick Nugent (McNamara having taken vows as a Buddhist monk) to send an additional 350,000 troops."

On December 25 a sober Lyndon Baines Johnson delivers his annual message: "My fellow Americans, I come to you this Christmas with a heavy heart. . ."

—MAHOUT

THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCES	
Republican Governor's Association	3
The Governors Face Omaha	4
Republican Governors Talk 1968	4
Democratic Governors Organize	11
Republican Governors' Urban Action Plan	11
VIETNAM ELECTIONS	7

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC.

National Governing Board

Josiah Lee Auspitz
Christopher W. Beal*
Robert L. Beal
Robert D. Behn
Melvin A. Bernstein
Thomas A. Brown
Edward S. Cabot
Robert D. Fagaly, Jr.
Howard F. Gillette, Jr.

Lee W. Huebner*
Edward J. McAniff
J. Eugene Marans
W. Stuart Parsons
Thomas E. Patri**
John R. Price*
John S. Saloma III
Michael C. Smith
Peter J. Wallison

Richard A. Zimmer

- * Officers
- ** National Executive Director

The Ripon FORUM Editorial Board

Josiah Lee Auspitz
Thomas E. Patri
Lee W. Huebner
Editor
Ralph B. Earle, Jr.

Political Notes Editor

Robert S. Gulick

Technical Editor

Rusty Bellows

Economics Editor

Duncan K. Foley

Business Manager

Gerald E. Bellows

Correspondents

Terence Dwyer, Michigan and Iowa
Donald Fowler, Maine
James L. Robertson, Mississippi
Christopher T. Bayley, Washington
Stanley M. Pottinger, California
J. T. Moore, Kansas
Dr. Arthur F. McClure II, Missouri
Stanford M. Adelstein, South Dakota
Mrs. Norman W. Osher, Arizona
John Evans, Missouri

William Harding, Nebraska
John R. Lazarek, Southern States
W. Stuart Parsons, Wisconsin
Maggie Nichols, California
John A. Bross, Jr., Illinois
Michael McCrery, Idaho
Cullen Hammond, Georgia
Eric R. Blackledge, Oregon
Charles O. Ingraham, North Carolina
Richard Olson, Massachusetts

THE RIPON SOCIETY is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with chapters in Boston, Los Angeles, New Haven and New York, and National Associate members throughout the fifty states. The Ripon FORUM is published monthly by the Society application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Boston, Massachusetts. To those who wish to subscribe to its publications and support its programs the Society offers the following options for annual contribution: FORUM, \$10; FORUM (student), \$5; Contributor, \$25 or more; Sustainer, \$100; Founder, \$1000. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

THE RIPON SOCIETY
1430 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Theory, is valid, hasn't the spread of Communism taken place more effectively in the Caribbean now that the Castro government has been in power for almost ten years? If the Domino Theory is valid, then why, with the apparent success of the Communists in Viet Nam, have they had such little success in Indonesia, such little success that the Communists were overthrown domestically without any intervention by the United States? What about South Korea, the Philippines, Formosa? In all of these United States successes in resisting Communist armies, we have been able to isolate the battlefield by sea power. Island and peninsulas can be blockaded, tough as it was in Korea. In Viet Nam our position is as though China had a military foothold in Acapulco, clear across the Pacific, while we kept supplying the Mexicans with North American-made supplies, delivered undetected at night and through the jungle. I don't see how they could win in that circumstance, and I don't see how we can in the situation we are in.

I have heard one or two people remark, thank goodness, not very seriously, that "what we ought to do is to drop the bomb and clean that place out—that'll stop em!" In both instances I said, "Well, who are we going to drop the bomb on," and got the answers, vaguely, Hanoi and Haiphong, where the supplies are supposedly entering. Of course, that leaves the South Vietnamese Communists, the Viet Cong, whose activities and successes, a few years ago, were the very reason we went there in the first place. It doesn't seem appropriate that you're going to be able to drop the bomb on them without also destroying the friendly people of South Vietnam who are on our side - or let's say are anti-Communist.

Maybe the whole thing can be summarized in this manner — 1. We are in a war of attrition on the Asian Continent. 2. We do have an extremely vulnerable supply line. 3. We have committed so many troops that we cannot adequately fight, even though more favorable militarily, in another part of the world without calling up the reserves and going into an all-out military situation. In other words, the bottom of our barrel is being scraped as far as our regular military establishment is concerned. 4. We are ostensibly protecting a country which has an almost entirely agrarian economy. I don't see that we have much to offer rice farmers or shop keepers in the way of politics or economics.

This seems to me to be a terrific Republican opportunity - similar to 1952 when Eisenhower promised a solution to the Korean War. Which reminds me that this might be construed as a "no-win" situation too. But in Korea in the last 15 years, there have been two countries operating peaceably, a few border incidents to the contrary. At least that war did get settled. The U.S. withdrew, and with no loss of prestige.

Another reason why it is such a terrific Republican opportunity is that the present so-called "Viet-niks" make it so darned hard for the "Middle-of-the-Roaders" to side with their position. They appear to be irresponsible Beatnik types and their appeal to the public is a matter of negative psychology. They say, in effect, "If you don't join us, you are just as guilty as those Nazis that the United States prosecuted at Nuremberg." Well, that might be, but no one is going to feel very kindly toward someone who is equating him with a Nazi. Their sales technique is very wrong.

An articulate Republican leader who can emphasize the fact that we are in a very dangerous position in Viet Nam should be able to catalyze a large underlying concern about this tragic war. I certainly hope one does.

PATRICK D. TOBIN
Inglewood, California.

The writer is a past-president of the Beverly Hills Chapter of The California Republican League.

Sirs:

Whoever wrote the lead item ("Bridging the Ideological Gap") in the June issue is a genius. Wonderful piece. I wonder if I can have an extra copy or two?

Sincerely,
GAIL DRUMMY
Detroit, Michigan

Additional single copies of The Ripon FORUM are available at \$0.50 each.

(continued on page twelve)

LETTERS: The War

Dear Sir:

I had a nice chat with my father about 10 days ago - and during the course of conversation asked him what he thought of the Viet Nam war. To my surprise he said, "Get the hell out." Now here's a guy who retired in 1950 after 30 years in the Marine Corps and wouldn't be expected to take a dove line in this thing. I expressed my surprise and asked him to explain further. He went on to say that we are involved in a war of attrition on the Asian Continent, a fact from which simple arithmetic could determine who would have the advantage. China alone has a population three times ours, and a much faster growing birth rate. This is no place to be in a war of attrition.

I am not concerned particularly whether or not there is a right or wrong to our reason for being there, I'm just concerned about a strategic position that consists of concentration of our forces in one remote spot on the earth and an overextended supply line. After all, if the other side wanted to get really serious about this war, how vulnerable is a 10,000 mile sea lane or a 10,000 mile air lane that has to support an army of half a million men and a very mechanical and technical one at that? If the other side wanted to get serious too, how easy would it be to launch an army down that Korean peninsula again like they did in 1950? We would be involved in a two-front war with the Asian Communists in just a twinkling. I don't know how we could win that one short of dropping the "big bomb."

The argument against pulling out, of course, is generally considered to be the Domino Theory, which is, that if one Asian nation falls, they will all fall because we will have been proved beatable. Why then, if the Domino

SUMMER 1967: The Governors' Conferences

This issue of the FORUM contains a summary of the politics and proceedings at the major governors' conferences of summer 1967. The first was the Western Governors' Conference, held at West Yellowstone, Montana, June 26-28. This Conference was dominated by Republicans; only two of the thirteen Western Governors (Hawaii and Utah) are Democrats. The Western meeting was followed by the semiannual meeting of the Republican Governors' Association, at Jackson Lake Lodge, Wyoming, June 29-30. The Democratic Governors' caucus held its first formal meeting in St. Louis on July 1. Finally, on August 10, the Policy Committee of the Republican Governors' Association met in New York to develop an "action plan" of "creative state leadership" to meet the national crisis of "social injustice and lawlessness" manifest in the outbreaks in Newark and Detroit.

Republican Governors' Association

The Republican Governors' Association meeting at Jackson Lake Lodge, Wyoming, June 29-30, again sparked hope that the Association may be on the threshold of becoming an effective third force in the Republican Party. The Association has acquired an experienced staff with offices in Washington and is prepared to embark on an ambitious research and campaign support program for 1967-68.

The Republican Governors had resolved at their previous meeting in Colorado Springs, Colorado, last December to become "an influential and effective voice in the Republican Party." At Colorado Springs the Governors elected Gov. John A. Love of Colorado as Chairman of the Association and Gov. John H. Chafee of Rhode Island as Vice-chairman, to succeed Gov. Love in the Chairman's post in December, 1967.

At Jackson Lake Lodge the Republican Governors indicated that the Association have two clear objectives for 1967-68. First, the Governors want to have a meaningful influence on the drafting of the 1968 National Platform. Second, they want to retain their present numerical strength in the 1967 and 1968 gubernatorial elections.

The Governors appointed an exceptionally able Policy Committee headed by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, to explore positions that the Association might take in the deliberations of the 1968 Platform Committee. The Governors recognize, however, that their Association's influence on the 1968 platform will turn in large part on which presidential candidate exercises dominant power at the convention.

The Governors plan to expand upon successful 1966 techniques in co-ordinating the 1967-68 Republican gubernatorial campaigns. Governors who will not be up for re-election in 1967-68 will shift some of their best aides into the campaigns of candidates who may face hard contests. In 1968 fourteen Democratic governors and only eight Republicans will be up for re-election. Only two state houses, Kentucky and Mississippi, will be contested in 1967. The new co-chairmen of the Republican Governors' Campaign Committee are James A. Rhodes of Ohio and Norbert T. Tiemann of Nebraska.

It appears that the Republican Governors' Association has been operating somewhat independently from the Republican National Committee since the spring of

The Western meetings were devoted primarily to Republican Presidential politics. The Republican Governors at these meetings also gave fleeting attention to the consequences of the June Young Republicans' Convention and to future research and campaign programs of the Republican Governors' Association. Special stories may be found in this issue on these topics.

All thirteen of the Western Governors attended the West Yellowstone meeting, although Governor Ronald W. Reagan of California departed early to finish his legislative session in Sacramento. Only 21 of the nation's 25 Republican Governors were able to attend the Jackson meeting. Those absent included Governor Reagan, as well as Governors George Romney of Michigan, Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania and Warren P. Knowles of Wisconsin.

—J. Eugene Marans

1967. The National Committee still provides virtually all the funds (about \$100,000) for the operations of the Association and the Association still has its offices in the same building as the National Committee. Nonetheless, the activities of the Governors' Association staff appear relatively distinct from that of the National Committee.

RIPON RECOMMENDATIONS

The Ripon Society did not make formal recommendations to the Republican Governors' Association at Jackson on projects for 1967-68. However, the Society has informally suggested to the Association two key objectives for the next twelve months.

Ripon has urged that the Association authorize its staff to prepare draft statements on important issues likely to come up at the National Governors' Conferences in October 1967 and June 1968. The drafts could be circulated among the Republican Governors for comment prior to the Conferences. This advance planning could help the Republicans from being divided and embarrassed by Democrats again on such issues as civil rights, Vietnam, welfare, revenue sharing and the draft. Even if the Republican Governors could not reach a common position before the Conferences on some of these issues, it would be well for them to comprehend and perhaps appreciate their differences prior to the meetings.

Ripon has also suggested that it would be helpful for the Association staff to prepare background papers and policy statements on a broad range of substantive issues. These background papers would be of great value even if all the Governors did not agree with all the views expressed in each one. Moreover, the Republican governors should be able to arrive at common policy statements on a surprising number of important issues. The background papers and policy statements could be extremely useful to the Governors' efforts to influence the 1968 platform.

There exist at least eight domestic issues on which broad Republican agreement seems to be developing: employment opportunities; home ownership; revenue sharing; selective service; welfare role of the independent sector; depersonalization of government; and, financing of higher education.

Ripon recognizes that there will be some difficulty

in obtaining agreement among the Republican Governors on the Vietnamese war. However, a surprising degree of consensus might be available on such foreign policy issues as the NATO treaty revision, economic development in low-income countries and balance-of-payments deficit.

The Republican Governors gave only limited consideration to substantive national issues at Jackson. The agenda included discussions of highway programs, comprehensive health planning, Title XIX of the Medicare Act and federal-state relations. There was almost no structured consideration by the Governors of pressing national and international questions.

The Ripon Society has taken the position that,

The Governors Face Omaha

The Republican Governors' Association meeting at Jackson faced the embarrassing prospect of acknowledging the bizarre performance at the Young Republicans' Convention the previous week at Omaha. The Governors were continually reminded by the press of the Young Republicans' extremist resolutions, rejection of National Committee reforms, repudiation of National Chairman Ray C. Bliss, unseating of a major state delegation, tacit endorsements of racism and threats to dissolve all party ties. G. Russell Pipe, an aide to Congressman Jackson E. Betts of Ohio, peppered the Governors with statistical evidence of the dominance of the conservative "syndicate" in key Omaha roll call votes.

The Republican Governors in Jackson were obliged to make some response to Omaha. National Chairman Bliss was a guest of the Governors' meeting, and it was he who suffered the greatest defeat at the Young Republicans' Convention. His two-year conciliatory policy of bringing the runaway YR group under control was exposed as a failure. The Syndicate defeated virtually all of the relatively moderate reforms that he had proposed to the Convention. By the time of the Jackson meeting, many national moderate Republican leaders had already declared that Bliss would have to do *something* about the Young Republicans. The Governors could not avoid making a firm statement in his behalf.

INDIRECT RESPONSE

Many of the Governors asserted that they were "mad" or "hot under the collar" about the Young Republicans' shenanigans in Omaha. Several of them had been personally embarrassed by the Syndicate at the Convention. Nonetheless, the majority of the Governors declined to make an issue of the Young Republicans in Jackson. Governor John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, for example, declared that the repudiation

Republican Governors Talk 1968

The Republican Governors had extensive opportunities to discuss 1968 presidential politics in June at both the Western Governors' Conferences in West Yellowstone and the semi-annual meeting of the Republican Governors' Association meeting at Jackson Lake Lodge.

The chief outcome of these meetings was the decision of all but a handful of the Republican governors not to commit themselves to a single presidential candidate before the end of the year. The second significant event of these meetings, particularly West Yellowstone, was the emergence of Gov. Ronald W. Reagan of Cali-

given the national importance of the Republican Governors' Association, the agenda of its meetings should reflect a truer balance between state and national issues. Moreover, Ripon believes that meetings of the Association should produce a series of thoroughly researched statements, including some new proposals, that will be given prominent attention by the national press. Such a series of proposals by the Republican Governors would help identify the national party with progressive programs emphasizing state responsibilities and practical federal-state relationships. The Jackson meeting's perfunctory statements and resolutions on substantive issues received only scant attention in the press. It was an opportunity for national exposure that the Republican Governors should not have missed.

of his own state's senior party by the Young Republicans was "not a matter of general interest."

Consequently, the Governors decided to issue a vague statement in support of Chairman Bliss, implicitly rebuking the Young Republicans for their insults to him at Omaha. The Governors' statement was the essence of indirection. The Governors commended Mr. Bliss "for his stewardship of the leadership of the Republican Party and its highest interests" and expressed their "vigorous support of his effort to coordinate the whole Republican effort on a sound basis under the leadership of the Republican National Committee."

Chairman Bliss' discretion at his press conference equalled the Governors' indirection. Mr. Bliss said that he and the Governors had discussed a number of proposals to attract young people to the Party. He said that it was important for the Party "to make opportunities for young people."

However, each time that Chairman Bliss was asked specifically about the Young Republicans, he replied that he did "not want to comment in depth" on the Young Republicans situation. He repeatedly observed that he could not be concerned with "interim skirmishes" in the Party and drew an analogy to the recent controversy in the Republican Women's Federation, which he said had largely been patched up.

Bliss' refusal to comment on the Young Republicans extended so far that he declined to answer even whether he considered the Young Republicans to be "more of an asset or more of a liability" to the Party.

Mr. Bliss seemed to feel that the Governors' statement in his support was an adequate rebuff to the Young Republicans. National Committee sources at Jackson indicated that Mr. Bliss also was pleased with the Ripon Society's timely documentation of the Omaha spectacle.

fornia as a believable presidential possibility.

The Republican Governors' Association at Jackson passed a special resolution favoring "uninstructed delegations to the National Convention unless otherwise directed by state law or the favorite-son wishes of the individual states." The resolution was drafted by Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett of Oklahoma and was given only scant consideration by the Governors before its adoption. Since the resolution was not presented until the final session at Jackson, few of the governors had a prior opportunity to assess its impact.

The Governors recognized that the Bartlett reso-

lution probably would discourage the type of firm pre-convention commitments secured by the Goldwater forces in 1964. Gov. Bartlett apparently was prompted to propose the resolution by the possibility that Nixon supporters would lock up the Oklahoma delegation months before the 1968 convention.

The resolution is not expected to have a significant impact on the 1968 National Convention. It will have no effect in the dozen states where delegates are chosen in primary elections or in others where there is no machinery for instructing delegates. The convention itself does not operate on a unit rule. F. Clifton White, chief strategist of the draft-Goldwater movement, asserted that the Bartlett resolution was almost meaningless, since it could not be enforced in any effective manner. To the extent that the resolution is accepted, however, it should enhance the Republican Governors' role as convention power brokers. An individual governor could also support a candidate not favored by a majority of leaders in his state. Gov. Daniel J. Evans of Washington, for example, stated that the resolution could only help him in maintaining control of his delegation, since the state committee already was hostile to him.

REAGAN'S STAR RISES

Governor Reagan was the unquestioned star at the Western Governors' Conference even though he left the conference after one day. Reagan's arrival at a cocktail party in the rough-hewn hall where the governors were meeting was described by Governor Tom McCall of Oregon as follows: "Reagan arrived like a 'white knight on a charger.' It was like an operetta. There's plain old governors and there's Reagan."

Reagan made a strong pitch for Republican Party unity at his only news conference. Asked his plans for 1968, Reagan gave the same old answer: "I still think it's too early to decide."

However, Reagan also made three statements indicating that he now wants to be considered as a potential presidential nominee: First, he told newsmen, "If the Republican Party comes beating at my door, I wouldn't say, 'Get lost, fellows,' but that isn't going to happen."

Second, Reagan said he would leave his name on the ballot in the key presidential primaries of Wisconsin, Nebraska and Oregon, though he did not plan to campaign in any of these states. His reasoning was that as an announced favorite-son candidate in California it would be hypocritical for him to disavow his candidacy in other primary states.

Third, Reagan tried to rule Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller out of the 1968 race, stating his hope that none of the participants in the 1964 primaries would be a candidate in 1968. He declared that the nomination of any of the contestants of 1964 would be "divisive."

Reagan made a striking personal impression. Many of the Republican governors for the first time were speaking of Reagan as a credible presidential candidate, whether or not they were prepared to support him. Governor McCall declared that Reagan is "rising faster as a national figure than any office-holder in either party at any level." He added that Reagan is "about the hottest piece of political property in the nation and could be on the march toward the 1968 nomination."

McCall added that he was "impressed with Reagan," but suggested that he ought to wait until 1972 to make a presidential bid.

COMMITTEES OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

July-December 1967

EXECUTIVE

John A. Love (Colo.), *Chairman*
John H. Chafee (R.I.), *Vice-chairman*
Tim Babcock (Mont.)
Claude R. Kirk, Jr. (Fla.)
Ronald W. Reagan (Calif.)

POLICY

Nelson A. Rockefeller (N.Y.), *Chairman*
Nils A. Boe (S.D.)
David F. Cargo (N.M.)
Daniel J. Evans (Wash.)
Warren P. Knowles (Wis.)
Tom McCall (Ore.)
George W. Romney (Mich.)
Raymond P. Shafer (Pa.)
John A. Volpe (Mass.)
James M. Williams (Ariz.)

CAMPAIGN

James A. Rhodes (Ohio), *Chairman*
Norbert T. Tiemann (Neb.), *Co-chairman*
Spiro T. Agnew (Md.)
Dewey F. Bartlett (Okla.)
Stanley K. Hathaway (Wyo.)
Walter J. Hickel (Alas.)
Paul Laxalt (Nev.)
Harold Le Vander (Minn.)
Winthrop Rockefeller (Ark.)
Donald Samuelson (Idaho)

The impression that Reagan had substance as a political figure was repeatedly expressed by the western Republican Governors. Governor Paul Laxalt of Nevada asserted that Reagan has earned "increasing respect among the governors for his ability," adding that Reagan is now coming off as a "man of quite a bit of substance on the issues." He emphasized that Reagan had made a "good presentation" at the Yellowstone meeting. "Of key importance," observed Laxalt, "is his ability to select staff. I've been very impressed with his staff."

DISPLACING NIXON?

Even more significant was the evidence that Reagan is rapidly replacing Richard M. Nixon as the conservatives' favorite for the 1968 nomination. Reagan may now be the first choice of three or four of the conservative governors. Even Romney-leaping Governor David F. Cargo of New Mexico had kinder words for Reagan than for Nixon. Cargo said, "The name of the game is to win elections. We must talk to the people, not just to the politicians. We can't be frozen into philosophies that have not been popular."

Cargo also explained, "Reagan is meeting a lot of people and making a lot of friends. He has the kind of personal campaigning at his command that Nixon never had."

"The more you talk to him the more he sounds like a candidate," Cargo observed of Reagan. "He is very willing to travel and very willing to speak outside his home state, which is what governors do when they run for President."

Governor John A. Love of Colorado, on the other
(continued on page ten)

That Horrendous Deficit

The Administration, counting on a tax increase, estimates that the deficit for the fiscal year 1967-68 will be about eleven billion dollars. Congressional leaders discount the tax increase and mention fifteen to twenty billion. If you are in an alarmist mood you can throw in a little Vietnam escalation, a little sluggishness in the economy and come out as high as thirty billion.

Already Cassandras are loosening up their vocal cords, preparing to start calling in the hogs of doom. After all, enough is enough. The foundations of the Republic, weakened as they have been by twenty years of continuous deficits won't stand up to this highest deficit in peace time history (or *is it peacetime?*). Anyway, a thirty billion dollar deficit is a disaster, according to them, and once the blame for it is fixed, the perpetrators had better be run out of town (or at least out of office) on a rail. Sounds painfully familiar.

Balanced-budget-mongering has not turned out to be a particularly successful campaign strategy for Republicans. Its only observable consequence was in 1960 when the Eisenhower Administration made the mistake of taking its own rhetoric seriously. In an attempt to cut down the deficit the Administration precipitated a recession which probably defeated the Republican standard-bearer, who was running on a platform of prosperity. But the deficit is sure to be an issue next year. Is there anything a shrewd candidate can say which will be both constructive for the country and helpful to himself?

It will pay to be very hardnosed about the difference between mythical and real effects of a deficit. To understand the real effects a short review of elementary economics is necessary.

Each year our resources of plant, machines and labor can produce a certain amount of output. Some of this is purchased by the government, some by business investing in new plants and machines, some by ordinary consumers. It is important that the total bought by these three groups equal the total produced. If they buy too little, machines and men will be unemployed; if they try to buy too much, prices will rise. Fortunately the government can influence all three categories. It controls its own expenditure directly, consumer spending by raising or lowering interest rates through the Federal Reserve System. Obviously, the more the government spends, the less one of the other groups will be able to spend. Either the government raises taxes, or it raises interest rates, or there will be an inflation.

There are two lines of attack on the budget. First, Republicans may argue that the Administration is simply mistaken in its estimates, and that the result is going to be too much spending all over the economy and inflation. It is a little dangerous to criticize mistakes, since everyone makes them. But the Administration's recent mistakes have all involved an underestimate of the cost of the war. A systematic campaign to deceive the people about the cost of a war is certainly a fair target for the opposition, however loyal it may choose to be to the war itself.

Second, Republicans can challenge the priorities that have governed the division of output. It is perfectly legitimate to argue for a tax increase to lower interest rates and stimulate investment in houses and plants or to call for a cutback in some sector of the Federal budget (space, the super-sonic transport, agricultural subsidies) to avoid a tax increase. This is a tricky business, since budget cutting always hurts someone, and it is hard to find fat in the budget that corresponds to a power group whose support you don't really want. Cutting the poverty program, for instance, is a poor strategy for a party that wants to win votes in the cities.

The candidate who refuses to be an alarmist over the size or the existence of the deficit will receive two dividends. First, since he has criticized specific priorities and specific choices among alternatives (recommending a tax rise, for instance, rather than an interest rate rise), he will not be embarrassed when his abstract complaints about the deficit come home in the form of questions about his own solution.

A Republican who takes his stand on the budget and national allocation, rather than the deficit, will also get rid of the doubts in the country over the commitment of Republicans to use tax and spending policy to maintain full employment. If Republicans want to open up the economy by removing restrictions on competition and giving back decisions to individual people, they have to guarantee prosperity. The Depression left too deep a scar for the people to trust free enterprise alone to produce prosperity. Republicans can begin to eliminate the false nostrums embodied in some New Deal legislation only when they commit themselves firmly to effective management of the economy through taxes and spending. Let's stop crying about the deficit and start talking about the sensible use of our nation's wealth.

IS AN HONEST ELECTION POSSIBLE IN VIETNAM?

A Ripon Reprint
THE RIPON FORUM
August, 1967

© Copyright 1967 by the
Republican Vietnam Fair Elections Project

A Republican Statement of Conscience to the American People

This is an excerpted version of an "alert paper" circulated to Republican Party leaders, prominent Republican citizens and the press for The Council of Republican Organizations, to which The Ripon Society is the Secretariat. The full statement included fifty questions which all Americans have a right to hear answered by the national press and the Administration. The questions ranged from the advantages enjoyed by the Ky-Thieu military regime through the political press censorship and news management to the conduct and issues of the campaign. Requests for copies of the full statement should be addressed to:

Republican Vietnam Fair Election Project
c/o The Council of Republican Organizations
1430 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

—Ed.

On September 3rd over 5 million citizens of South Vietnam are expected to vote in the elections for a President, Vice President, and Senate. President Johnson has told the world that "we stand for self-determination — for free elections — and we will honor their result." Yet, today, with less than a month remaining before the elections, there is mounting concern that the elections may already have been rendered meaningless by the manipulations of the Ky-Thieu military regime.

The September elections are critical to the future course of events in Vietnam. They will shape the politics of the new constitutional regime. They will influence the possibilities for a negotiated settlement of the war. They will have implications that extend far beyond that war-ravaged country. We call upon our fellow Americans, in the few days and weeks that remain, to ask themselves and their government some searching questions about the forthcoming elections in Vietnam.

Why Should Americans Be Concerned About the Elections in Vietnam?

Why is the issue of elections in a distant country, where few Americans even know the names of the principal candidates, of vital concern to Americans? We list four major reasons:

1. **We have pledged our national honor to the principle of free elections in Vietnam.** As a people we believe in honoring our commitments in the international arena. We have made a commitment to the people of South Vietnam — to honor self-determination and

government by the consent of the governed. (The Pledge of Honolulu.) Whether we like it or not, the people of South Vietnam and of nations around the world will hold the United States government accountable for the Vietnamese elections.

2. **Free elections are essential to the establishment of a popularly based government in South Vietnam that can guide the destinies of the South Vietnamese people.** The United States has stated that it has no intention of governing South Vietnam. We have made an enormous military and economic commitment to help the South Vietnamese people resist communist aggression and subversion. But, if South Vietnam is to become a viable nation capable of choosing its own destiny, it must have a popularly elected and supported national government. Without this the Saigon regime will simply collapse in the face of a nationally organized and disciplined National Liberation Front as soon as American support is withdrawn. No one has seriously suggested that we remain in Vietnam indefinitely to maintain a narrowly-based military regime that has no prospects for survival without endless billions of dollars of United States aid.
3. **Free elections are essential to establish the legitimacy of the Saigon government in the international community.** America has sought the assistance of its European allies and of free nations everywhere in the defense of South Vietnam. One reason that we have largely failed is that the great majority of world opinion views the military regime of South Vietnam as repressive, dictatorial, and undemocratic. Until the legitimacy of the Saigon government has been established by demonstrably free elections, we cannot count on any measurably increased support from our allies. Vietnam will remain a largely "American" burden.
4. **Without free elections our commitment in Vietnam becomes meaningless — and ultimately we threaten the moral basis of our own democracy.** We have sent over 500,000 young Americans to Vietnam, many of whom will not return or will come back injured. We have spent tens of billions of dollars for Vietnam. This year alone the figure will almost certainly exceed \$30 billion. More and more Americans are asking "why?" If it is to protect freedom, then free-elections in South Vietnam are among the highest priorities of our foreign policy. If free-elections are not possible or feasible, then the President and our government must explain to the American people the moral basis of our commitment. Not to do so will only further divide our people. The dissent on our college campuses and the disillusionment of a growing number of Negro Americans have roots that sink to the moral foundations of our own society.

Is An Honest Election Possible in Vietnam Now?

At this late date, we may no longer be able to secure free or meaningful elections on September 3rd. We cite only the most dramatic evidence:

- * The Buddhist non-Communist opposition has been suppressed since its unsuccessful test of strength with the military regime in 1966. Many Buddhist leaders and activists are still political prisoners or, like Thich Tri Quang, are barred from any effective political role in the elections. Candidates for the Senate identified with the militant Buddhists have been eliminated from the race. Knowledgeable observers say that the Buddhists are the only national force that could win a free election against the military — yet they are barred from the election.
- * The military regime has blatantly used Government funds, transportation, radio and TV station, illegal billboards, and press censorship to elect a military ticket. Premier Ky's election abuses were so outlandish that the military junta finally had to ask him to withdraw from the race in favor of General Thieu.
- * Press censorship, although expressly forbidden in the new Vietnamese Constitution, has been used arbitrarily by the Ky government to suppress any political news unfavorable to the regime. In June of this year, the Constituent Assembly drafted a resolution reaffirming the constitutional right of a free press and demanding abolition of Government censorship.
- * One of the most popular candidates to file for the Presidential election, General Duong Van Minh, a former chief of state, was disqualified from the race on technical grounds. General Minh has been living in exile in Thailand. The military regime has refused to let him return to Vietnam ostensibly because he is considered a "security risk."
- * Another popular candidate who was expected to enter the Presidential race, Tran Van San, was assassinated this past December. The Ky regime blamed the Viet Cong and soon apprehended one of the assassins. Two Saigon newspapers that questioned the official version of the assassination, the *Vietnam Guardian* and the *Saigon Post*, were suspended. (The *Saigon Post* has been reinstated; the *Vietnam Guardian* is still suspended.) In spite of a subsequent official inquiry, doubt persists in Saigon that the Viet Cong were responsible for the execution.
- * The only avowed "peace candidate" in the race, Au Truong Thanh, a respected former Minister of Finance and Economics, was eliminated from the race on charges of the military junta that he was "neutralist" or "pro-communist." Professor Thanh had announced that he would campaign on a "stop-the-bombing" platform. He favored a ceasefire and peace talks, although not peace at any price. His campaign was designed "to give the people a chance to express their opinion freely."
- * The current lineup of candidates virtually insures that the military ticket will win. When it appeared that Premier Ky and General Thieu would both run, dividing their chief source of electoral support, the 600,000 man Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), the military junta forced Ky to withdraw from the race and accept a nomination for Vice President. Observers felt this split had afforded the only possibility for a civilian candidate to win. Now the compromise Thieu-Ky ticket is heavily favored. Meanwhile the civilian vote will be further divided by the large number of civilian candidates — some of which are reportedly running at the urging of the junta.

* The senior officers in the army announced that steps would be taken toward establishing a "military affairs committee." Such a committee would formulate the national policy in virtually the same way as the armed forces leadership has done for more than two years and would serve to perpetuate collective government by the junta.

* These and other moves that have limited the range of meaningful choice in the election should be put into the overall perspective of politics and war in South Vietnam. Large sections of the country under Viet Cong control or insecure for government forces will not participate in the elections. Moreover, the Viet Cong is actively opposed to the elections or any other meaningful progress toward free democratic institutions.

Does The United States Government Want Free Elections in Vietnam Now?

With each successive cut of the military regime into freedom and self-determination, the question is raised: "What is the American responsibility for securing free elections in Vietnam?" The Johnson Administration has consistently stated that the United States has no involvement in the internal politics of Vietnam. When Premier Ky bowed out of the Presidential race, the State Department emphasized that the United States "neither support nor opposes any candidate . . ." The United States consistently has taken the position that selection of candidates and the final choice for high offices must be made by the South Vietnamese people themselves."

This is not a satisfactory answer. It is obvious to the Vietnamese people and the world in general that the United States is now the dominant political reality in Vietnam. An extensive "parallel government" of United States advisors and technicians reaches out from Saigon to the provinces and below. The current regime is clearly dependent on the United States. The United States government must and does intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam daily. To do so in a way that builds the capacities, confidence, and skills of the Vietnamese people without offending their sensitivity or sovereignty requires the greatest of diplomatic skills. America, by the very size of our "presence" in Vietnam, has significant influence on the Government of Vietnam. We should candidly recognize that influence and the responsibility to exercise it wisely.

What are our political objectives in Vietnam? Our actions and inactions have implications that are profoundly disturbing. We have publicly identified the prestige of the United States with the Ky regime at the Honolulu conference. We have urged the members of the military junta to patch up their political differences so that the military would not be divided in the war effort. (The Thieu-Ky settlement met with obvious United States approval.) In the pursuit of military objectives we have valued stability and continuity in the Saigon government. Yet, clearly the military is the single most important "stabilizing" factor in the politics of South Vietnam. And we have found the "northerners" (refugees from the North) in the Army and the bureaucracy the most administratively competent. To build democracy in South Vietnam, however, we must move in the opposite direction — toward a civilian government, toward a public service that is more representative of the people it serves.

Today, many in South Vietnam and the United States are asking how deep is our commitment to democracy and free-elections? How can we intervene to help achieve a unified military ticket and claim no right to intervene when respected, honorable candidates who disagree with the military regime's hard line on the war and negotiations are systematically eliminated from the election?

How can we support "free-elections" that offer the Vietnamese people no effective choice but to continue the war? Do we really want to risk a change in the direction of the war now? Would not our government really prefer "continuity" so that the United States military strategy could run its course, have its hoped-for effects, and produce a "more favorable" political climate in South Vietnam?

The answers to these penetrating questions cannot be given until the full election story is completed. While time yet remains, there are actions the American government can still take. The elections even now may be able to provide some valid expression of the Vietnamese people in shaping and directing their new government. The field is reduced, but it still contains two or three prominent civilian candidates. The military ticket already may have the election won, but the margin of victory, the combined poll of the opposition, the votes of individual civilian candidates identified with certain issues or sections of the population, the outcome of related slates in the Senatorial race are all indicators that should be watched. The Vietnamese people, contrary to American opinion, have had considerable experience with elections — albeit mostly "rigged" elections. Vietnamese politics have a subtlety of style and an uncanny shrewdness that elude most Americans. There is potentially much that can still be achieved through genuine free-elections in Vietnam. But, will there be free-elections?

The Urgent Need To Monitor The Vietnam Elections

The world will be watching the closing weeks of the Vietnamese Presidential elections. The members of the international press and perhaps some international observers will follow the campaigning and balloting. We believe that the men and women of the American press - newspapers, magazines, radio and television - have a special and historic responsibility to monitor the Vietnamese elections and to give as full and candid a report as possible to the American people. We believe that such reporting will be an immeasurable service to public understanding and discussion at this critical point in our history.

The Johnson Administration cannot properly or adequately report to the American people on the course of the elections. It is deeply involved in the outcome of the elections. It cannot easily announce, if such proves to be the case, that they were a fraud. The Administration's past statements on political developments in South Vietnam, as in the case of military forecasts, have suffered from undue optimism. The State Department recently stated, for example, that the Ky government had "set a course toward constitutional representative government which has been followed unswervingly, both as to its timetable and its direction." A credibility gap has opened on the political front that may have serious potential consequences. The press, in its monitoring role, can serve to temper the Administration's estimates and to educate the public at large concerning political realities in Vietnam.

A Call For Republican Leadership What Can Be Done?

The American press can exercise great leadership in the way it covers the elections. Much more can be done through the responsible initiative of the Republican party leadership and members and the statesmanship of an aroused United States government.

WE CALL ON THE REPUBLICAN PARTY LEADERS AND THOSE ACTIVE IN THE PARTY TO IN-

ITIATE A FULL NATIONAL DISCUSSION AND DEBATE ON THE COURSE OF THE VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS. We feel that this is a high responsibility the Republican party is well qualified to accept in its capacity as

- * the minority party pressing an uncertain Administration to honor its word and make clear its objectives.
- * the party that has traditionally supported full voting rights and honest elections for all Americans with the elimination of vote manipulation and fraud wherever it is practiced - by the city machines or county courthouses.
- * the spokesman from Theodore Roosevelt through Dwight D. Eisenhower for a responsible foreign policy based on "an intelligent appraisal of our national interests and the limits of our power."
- * the party concerned with priorities in both our domestic and foreign investment, concerned with the growing unrest in our urban ghettos, and concerned with the practical questions a new generation of Americans is asking our nation.

We believe America will respond to this initiative. **AS REPUBLICANS WE CALL UPON THE DEMOCRATIC JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION TO EXERCISE THE FULLEST MEASURE OF STATESMANSHIP AND LEADERSHIP IN MAKING THE VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS AS FREE AND HONEST AS THEY CAN BE AT THIS LATE DATE.**

Specifically we urge:

1. A declaration by the United States government that it will work with any government freely elected by the Vietnamese people and a public denial that the United States favors the election of the Thieu-Ky military ticket or would withdraw aid from a civilian government. To date our actions have convinced many Vietnamese that we prefer and would support only the military regime.
2. A pledge in advance to the newly elected government that we shall give whatever technical assistance is necessary in the transition to a Constitutional order. This pledge should make it absolutely clear that we will not tolerate a military overthrow of a new civilian government if one is elected. Premier Ky has raised the threat of a coup if the junta is unhappy with the election results.
3. The insistence of the United States Government that rigorous and fair procedures be followed in the elections and that violations be subject to appeal and action by an impartial tribunal. We have specified some of the trouble points observed in past elections and feared by the non-government candidates. Many of these potential abuses can be checked if there is the will.
4. The announcement to the people of Vietnam and the world that we will not consider the election of Generals Thieu and Ky a mandate for the continuation of the war in view of the limited range of candidates and debate in the campaign.

We cannot as a government or as individuals look askance from what has been happening in Vietnam. The words of Abraham Lincoln speak compassionately and condemningly to us more than a century after his death:

What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, or bristling seacoasts, our army and navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors.

As Americans, we cannot remain silent.

Republican Governors Talk 1968

(continued from page five)

hand, saw no major shift toward Reagan. He said, "I sure don't see any bandwagon when the guy says he is not running."

Love declined to comment on the conservative Colorado movement to sew up the state's delegation for Reagan — a group which already had claimed 1,000 members, is shooting for 10,000 before the end of the year and is following the 1964 precinct caucus route successfully used by the Goldwater forces.

"The '64 situation doesn't exist," insisted Love. "Then there was a broad grass-roots, precinct-level campaign — a sort of ideological crusade. I can't see anything like it yet."

The conservative professionals were present in striking numbers at the two western governors' meetings. None of them would expressly disclose whom he is supporting for 1968. However, several experienced observers saw in this cadre the makings of a full-fledged Reagan organization. They predict that a national draft-Reagan committee, headed by White, will come into the open in the fall.

Mr. White disclosed that he is polling the 1964 National Convention delegates on their preferences among the prospective 1968 candidates. He insisted that he was conducting the mail poll on his own and not for any candidate.

A number of other conservative Republican professionals were registered at one or both of the governors' meetings along with White. Among them were James Day of Arlington, Va., headquarters manager of the draft-Goldwater group; Tom Van Sickle of Kansas, outgoing president of the Young Republicans, White's deputy in Citizens-for-Goldwater, and now an associate in White's National Public Affairs Counseling Service; oil executive Charles Barr, one of the earliest of the draft-Goldwater group; and, James Mack of Illinois.

PRIMARIES CRITICAL FOR NIXON

The Republican governors emphasized the importance of the primaries in the 1968 nominating process. The governors agreed with the Nixon strategists that the primaries would be critical for the chances of the former Vice-president to win the nomination.

Nixon retains a solid base of support among party workers throughout the West, but the same questions about his popular appeal are heard from governors in the West as in the East. Governor Cargo of New Mexico said, "Nixon would run well in the precincts in Southeast Asia. But I don't know how well he's going to do in the Republican precincts at home. He's lost contact recently with the people in the grass roots."

Governor Norbert T. Tiemann of Nebraska, on the other hand, predicted that Nixon would win the vital Nebraska primary, defeating Romney, even if Ronald Reagan were also on the ballot. Governor Daniel J. Evans of Washington conceded that Nixon would probably win most of the Washington delegates if the choice were being made now. And Governor Tim Babcock of Montana told reporters, "We carried Montana with Dick in 1960, and I'd say he was most acceptable to the people of Montana."

Governor Stanley Hathaway of Wyoming summed up the sentiment of the western governors on Nixon: "He is admired by the organization people because he's done so much for the party, but that may not necessarily be the case with the guy on the street."

ROCKEFELLER AND CHAFEE PLUG ROMNEY Governor George Romney's absence from the Jackson meeting probably weakened his chances of gaining solid commitments to his candidacy before the end of the year. One of Romney's chief assets is his "presence" — his inspiring appearance, eloquent language and obvious vigor. Nelson A. Rockefeller and John H. Chafee, the only two governors publicly committed to the Michigan governor, vigorously pushed his candidacy throughout the Jackson meeting but gained no converts to the Romney cause.

Much of Rockefeller's arm-twisting for Romney occurred during a caucus of the moderate Republican governors in Jackson on June 28. The caucus purportedly was called to draft a description of the kind of presidential candidate the governors wanted for 1968, but the meeting broke up without agreement.

Governor Chafee announced in Jackson the formation of a Romney-for-President Committee in Rhode Island. He said that he was a member and that one of his staff, Arthur Levin, was its chairman. Chafee expressed the hope that the Rhode Island committee could serve as a springboard for broad New England support of Romney.

Chafee conceded that the Republican Governors' Association as a group probably would not endorse any single candidate before the end of the year, if at all. He agreed that the primaries will be "terribly important." But he predicted that the majority of Republican Governors by December should be "pretty firm behind a single man."

Governor Cargo had been credited in some quarters with attempts to line up the Republican governors at the western meetings behind Romney. However, he told reporters that Leonard Hall, Romney's chief political strategist, had decided that it was too early to make a move in that direction. Cargo said that he himself remains uncommitted and expects to head an unpledged New Mexico delegation to the convention. In Cargo's view, Romney must win in New Hampshire or face the prospect of being replaced by another moderate in the drive for the nomination.

Governor Tom McCall expressed serious concern for the progress of the Romney campaign. McCall, who has been one of Governor Rockefeller's chief boosters, said that he believes that Romney's campaign is running into trouble. He was widely quoted as saying that Romney's candidacy is "lying dead in the water. Somebody's got to crank him up again."

What was striking at Jackson was the seeming retreat of a number of moderate governors formerly considered to be securely behind Romney. In addition to Cargo, they include Walter J. Hickel of Alaska, Paul Laxalt of Nevada, John Love of Colorado, Norbert Tiemann of Nebraska and John A. Volpe of Massachusetts.

ROCKEFELLER BOOSTERS REMAIN VOCAL The diehard supporters of Nelson Rockefeller remained vocal in praise of the New York governor. Governor McCall insisted that he was unwilling to drop his hope that Rockefeller would become a candidate for the nomination. McCall said, "I've been for Rockefeller all along. I still think that he's the best qualified."

Governor Cargo made no secret of his enthusiasm for Rockefeller. By his reading, 18 of the 25 Republican governors are looking for a moderate candidate. "But if you took a secret ballot as to which of them they'd want to elect as president," he added, "sixteen would say Rockefeller."

Governor Daniel Evans of Washington indicated that he remains a Rockefeller booster. Governor Hathaway of Wyoming asserted that Rockefeller is "the best qualified man the Republican Party has" for the presidency.

Governor Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland called a special press conference to declare his support of Rockefeller for president. He indicated that he had made repeated attempts to persuade Rockefeller to become a candidate. He detected an upward swing of Rockefeller support in the past several months, but as yet "no obvious groundswell."

"Unfortunately," added Agnew, "I am not encouraged by Rockefeller or his staff. I detect no softening in his attitude. There is absolute consistency among his staff and people that the governor supports Romney, except for the New York favorite-son thing."

In reiterating his support for Rockefeller, Agnew declared, "We do not have to go to the far end to distinguish Republicans from Democrats. We can win in 1968 if the candidate skillfully articulates our nuances or differences from the national administration."

Governor Rockefeller has said that he would become a favorite-son candidate to the 1968 convention from New York only if it were necessary "to preserve unity in the delegation." He said that it would be "important and valuable for the New York delegation to retain its cohesiveness" at the convention.

Observers at Jackson were struck by the absence of negative comment among the western governors

Democratic Governors Organize

The Democratic Governors' Caucus, at its first formal meeting in St. Louis on July 1, organized the Democratic Governors' Conference of America to parallel the Republican Governors' Association. The first chairman of the Conference, Gov. Harold B. Hughes of Iowa, stated that its principal goal "is to strengthen the resolve of the Democratic party in America and to be a force for influence in the Democratic party and its programs."

The Democratic governors appointed an executive committee to provide direction and coordination for the conference's actions. It may be expected that the Democratic conference will provide a mechanism for the coordination of Democratic actions at annual national governors' conferences. In recent years this coordina-

Republican Governors' Urban Action Plan

The Policy Committee of the Republican Governors' Association, on August 10, 1967, issued a sixty-point "action plan" to provide "creative state leadership" to meet the problems of "social injustice and lawlessness" dramatized in the 1967 riots. It was the Association's first major policy statement since the paper on revenue-sharing which it issued jointly with the Ripon Society in 1965.

The Policy Committee meeting was called by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, who was named its chairman at the June meeting of the Association. The governors attending the meeting, in addition to Mr. Rockefeller,

about Rockefeller. Tim Babcock of Montana, whose first choice is either Nixon or Reagan, said that he could support Rockefeller if he were nominated. A similar comment was made by Paul Laxalt of Nevada. Governor Nils A. Boe of South Dakota indicated that he would be happy with Rockefeller but is discouraged from an early pledge for a moderate candidate by the conservative nature of his constituency. Harold Le Vander of Minnesota expressed the same sentiment.

RIPON'S INFORMAL POLL

An informal Ripon poll at Jackson indicated that at least eight of the twenty-five Republican governors now consider Romney their first choice among the probable contenders for the nomination. A surprisingly large number of the governors — no less than five — considered Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York as their first choice. Almost all of those whose first choice is Romney indicated that they easily could move to Rockefeller if Romney were to falter. However, almost none of the governors whose first choice was Rockefeller expressed a strong desire to move to Romney as a fall-back candidate. Mr. Nixon was the first choice of only two governors, but he fared better as a fall-back candidate than Governor Reagan, who was the first choice of four of the governors. Nixon's strength reflects his unique position of being a potential fall-back candidate of the supporters of Romney and Rockefeller as well as Reagan.

There was almost no hard talk about Illinois' Senator Charles H. Percy as a fall-back candidate to either Romney or Reagan. Some of the governors and members of the press took note of Percy's rapid rise in the Senate, but few were willing to pay close attention to what his role might be in the 1968 nominating process.

tion had been provided by Democratic National Chairman John Bailey.

The establishment of a regular organization should also enable the Democratic governors to issue periodic statements on national issues, particularly in the area of federal-state relations. At the St. Louis meeting, the Democrats were singing the praise of President Johnson's policy during the Middle East crisis, his summit conferences with Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin of the Soviet Union, and his handling of federal-state relations.

"Federal-state relations have improved," conference chairman Hughes said, "to the point where they are the best in my lifetime or certainly in the five years that I've been Governor of Iowa."

were George W. Romney of Michigan, Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania, John A. Love of Colorado, Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland, John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, John A. Volpe of Massachusetts and Nils A. Boe of South Dakota. Three other members of the Committee informed Governor Rockefeller by telephone that they approved the program. They were David F. Cargo of New Mexico, Tom McCall of Oregon and Daniel J. Evans of Washington. "We were not able to reach Governor Reagan," Governor Volpe told reporters.

Governor Rockefeller, acknowledged as the chief architect of the "action plan," called the Committee after

he had failed to persuade Democratic Governor William Guy of North Dakota to call an emergency meeting of the National Governors' Conference.

The Republican statement is not yet an official statement of the entire Republican Governors' Association. It represents, however, an important first step toward the adoption of an urban program by the entire Association at its next meeting in Miami Beach, Florida, in December.

EFFECTIVE STAFF WORK

Moreover, the production of the "action plan" reflected the most effective staff work that Republican governors have evidenced in many years. Governor Rockefeller reportedly called the meeting on July 28, and almost immediately staff members of the invited Governors began cataloguing proposals for the "action plan." Several key staffers started drafting the actual statement in New York on Tuesday, August 8, two days before the full committee meeting. At the meeting itself, the governors spent several hours putting the draft into final form.

The "action plan," presented at a packed press conference at the close of the meeting, is a sixteen-page document presenting sixty specific proposals in nine major areas. Governor Volpe declared that the plan serves as a "checklist" for all the nation's governors to follow in meeting the "crisis of urban chaos" thrust upon the nation this year.

LETTERS: Goldwater Replies

Dear Sir:

I read your FORUM with a great deal of interest and I do feel that our Party is trying to come together, although in some areas we have quite a way to travel. I would like to comment just briefly on your FORUM by reminding you that had Governor Romney gone through the usual channels instead of holding out for debate his resolution on extremists or extremism would have been adopted. However, there would have been some changes according to Congressman Laird.

The identical wording you refer to approved by the Coordinating Committee was written by me, Tony Smith and Karl Hess with assistance from Ab Herman. The truth of the matter is that I had been using precisely that language for years and all Governor Romney had to do was to, as I said before, offer his resolution in proper form.

I don't recall that the NATO Commanders control over nuclear weapons was an issue wrapped up in the Platform because everyone connected with the writing of that document knew full well that the NATO Commanders had rather adequate control over nuclear weapons, so there was no sense in bringing it up again. My whole effort in this field was not to incite fear, which, unfortunately, I did, but to create by a generous discussion of the whole matter a better understanding in the minds of American people about what we were talking about when we discuss nuclear weapons. I suggest there is still a great dialogue to be had in this area.

In the not-too-distant future I hope to be able to resolve my thinking on some approaches the Party might take toward issues that I feel can be very successful in 1968 and I think these approaches might surprise you, but when I have determined whether or not they are feasible or even worth offering, I'll let you know.

Sincerely,
BARRY GOLDWATER
Scottsdale, Arizona

STATES' ROLE

The underlying assumption of the statement is that the states can and must play a leading role both in preserving order and in dealing with the root causes of civil disorder. The statement emphasizes that the solution to the urban crisis must be based on a "new kind and degree of cooperative action between the various levels of government and the private sector of the society."

The action plan includes specific measures for state action to maintain order, transform the physical environment of slums into decent communities, increase job opportunities, improve public services to individuals and expand cultural and recreational opportunities.

The plan also proposes state action to encourage participation in these endeavors by individual citizens and private institutions, to assure state governments' capacity to meet urban problems and to encourage flexibility, speed, and adequate funding of federal programs.

The Ripon Society views the issuance of the urban action plan as an important first step by the Republican Governors in identifying the Party with progressive, practical programs to provide leadership at every level of government and private endeavor. Several of the governors attending the Policy Committee meeting indicated that they had numerous proposals in at least a half dozen other fields for consideration by the Policy Committee and the entire Association before the end of this year.

General Gavin

Dear Sir:

I have long been surprised that in its search for a presidential candidate, the Republican party does not call on General James Gavin. Following are some reasons, which, I feel, make his candidacy desirable and his victory possible:

- 1) General Gavin has offered the only fresh approach to the Vietnam problem which is compatible with national dignity and national security and which allows for the hope of an end to the bloodshed in the foreseeable future. In regard to Vietnam, General Gavin can be to President Johnson what General Eisenhower was to President Truman with respect to Korea, and what General de Gaulle was to the French "Democratic" leaders who initiated and were unable to end the Algerian tragedy: the man who redresses an erroneous policy and establishes an honorable peace.
- 2) When James Gavin was entrusted by General Eisenhower to lead his paratroopers on D-day in the fierce assault which was to shatter the Wall of the Atlantic, it was eventually the Nazi soldiers who "turned tail and ran." Even the astute Democratic candidate (who accompanied a dangerous mission against the Japanese fighter planes) will find it difficult to label General Gavin a "nervous Nellie."
- 3) General Gavin's diplomatic service as Ambassador to France and his distinguished business career speak for themselves.
- 4) General Gavin really offers "a choice, not an echo," and it is improbable that the electorate would choose "an echo" when the "real voice" is also in the race.

Thus it appears that, provided the Republican party and President Eisenhower give him their unmitigated endorsement and support, General Gavin can win the White House for the G.O.P. next year on the basis of a forward-looking and popular program.

After all, "Why not Victory?"

Sincerely,
HENRI GUERON
New York, New York

POLITICAL NOTES

Another Commission

At almost the same time as flames engulfed many of our major cities, the House of Representatives, amidst much jest and good fellowship, defeated a Rat Control Bill which would have cost \$40,000,000 — a staggering sum, you might think, until you think of it as the equivalent cost of fourteen *hours* of war in Viet Nam.

And the nation's chief executive seems more annoyed by the riots than concerned. He is preoccupied by the war in Viet Nam and fell back on his stock answer for a domestic problem - the appointment of yet another Presidential Commission. It is to report by next March.

This typical response indicates that our nation's leadership has little knowledge of the problems of the core cities: of the decrepit housing, the high unemployment rates, the unwholesome family environment, the dearth of adequate public amusement facilities, the hopelessness and aimlessness of life in the ghettos. The testimony before the Senate Subcommittee this past spring was forgotten. It was as if Daniel P. Moynihan and Thomas F. Pettigrew had never spoken on the cities and their people.

And what ever happened to the report of that other commission, chaired by John J. McCone, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, which investigated the causes of the 1965 riot in Watts? It concluded that the three fundamental causes were: "Not enough jobs;" "Not enough schooling;" and, "A resentment, even hatred, of the police as a symbol of authority." Have two years made this study obsolete? The Commission observed that the remedies it proposed would be "expensive and burdensome." In Washington, politicians look for a cheap magic wand and, in their haste to release pious statements about law and order, all facts are forgotten.

The Presidential Commission's report will not prevent more riots this summer nor, if its recommendations are delayed until March, will it contribute much toward an orderly summer in 1968.

Democrats in Disarray

Fifty-one former delegates to the Democratic National Convention have suggested to President Johnson that he not seek re-election because, due to disagreement with his course in Vietnam, "millions of Democrats will be unable to support Democratic candidates in local, state and national elections." Republicans can take advantage of this Democratic split by nominating a Presidential candidate who offers a responsible alternative on Vietnam.

Right Wing Boycotts Bliss

Washington state right-wingers, including the four chairmen of the most populous counties, boycotted a recent dinner for Republican Chairman Ray Bliss. The boycott illustrated the seriousness of the extremists' split from the regular Republican party in Washington. The anti-Bliss dissidents, who have adopted a rule-or-ruin policy, hope to defeat moderate Republican governor Dan Evans when he comes up for re-election in 1968 and to win control of the Washington state delegation to the Republican National Convention for Governor Ronald Reagan of California.

Alabama

Alabama political observers are predicting that Senator Lister Hill, now 72, will decline to run for re-election next year, leaving Congress after 15 years in the House and 30 years in the Senate. Despite the probable Presidential candidacy of former Governor George C. Wallace, Alabama Republicans can be expected to mount a major attempt to win this seat which was narrowly missed by GOP Representative James Martin in 1961.

Arkansas

Arkansas Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, a certainty to run for re-election next year, may find himself opposing either one or both of his former gubernatorial opponents. Former Governor Orval Faubus is known to be chafing at retirement and has been seriously considering entry into either the 1968 governor's race or the United States Senate contest. The six term governor professes indecisiveness but few politicians express doubt that he will run for office next year. Former Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson, Rockefeller's 1966 Democratic opponent, has been beating the drums for former Governor Wallace and appears eager to make another bid for statewide political office. Animosity between Faubus and Johnson continues to run deeply as a result of 1966 blood-letting and Johnson has hinted that he will oppose Faubus in whatever race the former governor enters. Despite the array of Democrats who have stated an interest in opposing Rockefeller, the state's Republicans are so confident of victory in 1968 that the number of GOP candidates in that year is anticipated to be at least double the 600 who ran in 1966.

Kansas

Kansas Sate Senator Norman E. Garr has begun a drive to consolidate Romney support in the Sunflower State. Some think the move has come a bit late, as Romney has slipped to the advantage of Nixon since last winter, when private polls showed strong support for him at the county and local chairman level.

Working hard for Romney is U.S. Senator James Pearson, who has also been a major force behind reorganizing the Kansas state party for an attempt to regain the governorship, lost last year to Robert Docking. Docking has been a moderately successful governor and may be tough to beat. A possible man to do it is former governor John Anderson, who beat the incumbent's father in 1962. Anderson's support for Rockefeller, however, cost him a seat at the national convention in 1964 and may motivate some to block his comeback attempt. Another former governor, William Avery, a Romney backer, also faces problems within the state party as he contemplates a rematch with Docking.

Missouri and Maryland

Excellent prospects for GOP Senate gains next year include seats in Missouri and Maryland. In Missouri Senator Edward Long is under fire for allegedly taking legal fees from teamster ex-president James Hoffa. His possible Republican opponent: hard-working Congressman Thomas Curtis.

In Maryland Senator Daniel Brewster has much opposition from within the Democratic Party; one faction has asked him not to run again. Republicans are talking about two Congressmen as Senate candidates: Charles McC. Mathias and Roger C. B. Morton. Morton runs ahead in intra-party polls, but Mathias runs stronger in the entire electorate in this very Democratic state.

New England

Massachusetts' governor John Volpe may run in the New Hampshire primary next March, despite the wishes of Governor George Romney, who has indicated his preference that Volpe not oppose him. Volpe recently stated that his favorite-son candidacy was a chance "to gain recognition for New England in the national political picture." Meanwhile, Rhode Island's Governor John Chafee continues his active support for Romney. Both of the popular New England governors are prospective Vice-presidential nominees.

Texas

The continuing effort by the Texas Republican leadership to expand the party's presently narrow base recently suffered a setback in Houston, where one-sixth of the state's Republicans are located. Harris County GOP Chairman Jim Mayor, who was elected in 1965 with the endorsement of Senator John Tower and State Chairman Peter O'Donnell, was stripped of his control of the standing committees in the county organization. This success by the county's conservative precinct leaders in their most recent skirmish with the moderate county chairman is another demonstration of the persistent strength of the far right within the Texas GOP. Unless Texas Republicans are able to suppress their continuing division, little hope can be held for the party to benefit in 1968 from the disillusionment of the state's minorities with the Democratic Party.

Virginia

Following close upon an analysis in *Fortune* which

concluded that New York's governor Nelson Rockefeller remains the strongest prospective Republican Presidential candidate, Democratic Senator William B. Spong, Jr. asserted recently that Rockefeller would make the strongest Republican showing in the Senator's home state of Virginia.

Wisconsin

Governor Romney's prospects in next spring's important Wisconsin primary were given a boost by the decision of the Wisconsin legislature to shift to a modified "Oregon" primary system. Under the new primary law, all major contenders will be listed on the ballot; a candidate will be able to remove his name only by declaring that he is not a candidate. Under the old law, it appeared that only Richard Nixon and Romney would enter the race, and Nixon was a narrow favorite. Now Governor Reagan's name will also be on the ballot. Reagan could draw substantial support from Nixon and tip the contest to Romney, but Romney support might also be divided, if Rockefeller, or Percy are placed on the ballot. Republicans can also vote for "None of the above" or write in the name of an unlisted candidate.

An added feature of the Wisconsin primary is that it will allow Democratic voters to vote yes or no on President Johnson. This will presumably give Democrats a reason for not crossing over and voting in the GOP primary, but a high crossover is expected nonetheless.

Reagan in Georgia

Ronald Reagan is moving in on Richard Nixon's southern support. Howard H. "Bo" Callaway, GOP candidate for governor of Georgia last year, met with Reagan recently and told him that many Georgians supported his presidential ambitions. A fight in Georgia appears likely between supporters of Nixon and backers of Reagan for control of the state delegation to the 1968 national convention.

1430 MASS. AVE: 'The Conservative Battle Plan'

Ripon Society President Lee Huebner was the author of the lead article in the July 17 issue of *The New Leader*, "The Conservative Battle Plan." Using the recent YR convention in Omaha as an example, Huebner showed how the Syndicate is using their well-disciplined and ideologically motivated cadres as the advance guard of the Reagan candidacy. The article pointed up the motivational dilemma imposed on the moderates by their pragmatic philosophy and closed with an analysis of the Party's recent experience as evidence of the moderate's lack of direction.

RESEARCH The Ripon Society's Research Service, which seeks to provide Republican office-holders and organizations with in-depth research and substantive issues, has developed into a significant sector of the Society's endeavors. Currently, the major thrust of this Service is the Research Service Memo, which has produced especially favorable response.

Ripon has developed a format for these Memos which places an emphasis on basic concepts, hard facts, new ideas and dramatic illustrations. Complete in themselves, they included all the research needed to write a policy speech, the goal of the Memos. The resources of the entire Society are utilized to draft, review and edit; the overriding emphasis is on guaranteeing that the solutions are appropriate, that the facts are accurate and that the most persuasive political arguments are constructed. Thus, political research obtained in this fashion is a more economical investment for most Republicans than an additional staff researcher.

Republicans are offered a package of these Memos, to be selected from a prepared list of topics, on a confidential basis. Although the number of contracts the Society can undertake is still limited, Memos have already been prepared on such diverse topics as "Small Business" and "Intellectuals and the G.O.P."